

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 CU-04 AGR-20

STR-08 CIEP-02 COME-00 CEA-02 OMB-01 RSR-01 /161 W

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R 031910 Z JUL 73

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6090

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EGEN, EEC, GW, FR

SUBJECT: INCREASED FRG EMPHASIS ON THE FRANCO-
GERMAN TIE IN THE EC

1. SUMMARY. THE FRANCO- GERMAN RELATIONSHIP WITHIN THE EC, ALWAYS VERY IMPORTANT IN FRG POLICY, HAS BEEN GIVEN STRONGER EMPHASIS LATELY, BY SOME FRG ECONOMIC POLICY FIGURES. AT LEAST PART OF THE IMPETUS SEEMS TO COME FROM POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN US- SOVIET RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE PACT TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR. AN UNUSUALLY STARK STATEMENT IS FOUND IN A JULY 1 RADIO INTERVIEW WITH HANS APEL, FOREIGN OFFICE PARLIAMENTARY STATE SECRETARY AND RECENT FRG REPRESENTATIVE AT EC COUNCIL SESSIONS. APEL SAID THE FRANCO- GERMAN RELATIONSHIP IS THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE FOR THE FRG IN THE EC, IN PART BECAUSE IT IS FRENCH RESERVATIONS THAT HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE FURTHER PROGRESS ON EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION AND STRENGTHENED

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EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. IF PROGRESS IS NOT ACHIEVED HERE, SAID APEL, EUROPE WILL COME UNDER A PAX SOVIETICA, A PAX AMERICANA OR BOTH TOGETHER, EACH ALTERNATIVE INVOLVING A LOSS OF EUROPEAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND CO- RESPONSIBILITY. COMMENT: THIS ATTITUDE WILL BE REFLECTED IN CONTINUED PRIORITY WITHIN THE FRG FOR NOT PUSHING THE FRENCH INTO CORNERS ON EC ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. PORTIONS OF APEL' S INTERVIEW ARE PARAPHRASED BELOW.

3. IN RECENT EC COUNCIL SESSIONS WE HAVE CONTINUALLY EXPERIENCED AN 8- TO-1 CONFRONTATION THAT I DO NOT FIND PROPER, FOR WHAT GOOD DOES IT DO IF ONE PARTNER IS PUT INTO A CORNER? WE HAVE TO DECIDE AND SUSTAIN OUR ACTIONS IN COMMON. IF THE FRENCH ARE NOW THE DIFFICULT PARTNER, THAT ENHANCES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONSHIP BECAUSE THIS RELATIONSHIP HAS HELPED TO ENGAGE THE FRENCH MORE FULLY IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION ... AND TO OVERCOME THEIR MISTRUST OF NON- EUROPEAN STATES, PARTICULARLY THE U. S. A.... WE STAND IN A PARTICULARLY CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP VIZ A VIZ BRITISH EUROPEAN POLICY, BUT THE FRANCO- GERMAN RELATIONSHIP IS MORE IMPORTANT BECAUSE FRANCE REMAINS THE DIFFICULT PARTNER.

4... IN THE RECENT EC COUNCIL SESSION ON THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNITY FOR GLOBAL TRADE ROUND, WE (THE FRG) GOT THE FRENCH TO MODIFY AND RE- THINK THEIR OWN POSITION IN SUBSTANTIAL PART. THIS WE OWE, NOT IN SMALL MEASURE, TO THE RECENT FRANCO- GERMAN CONSULTATIONS. IN SHORT, THIS IS A DIFFICULT PARTNER... BUT ONE WHICH DOES NOT IGNORE EUROPEAN REQUIREMENTS, WHEN THEY CONFORM WITH FRENCH INTERESTS... AS FAR AS DEFENSE AND SECURITY QUESTIONS ARE CONCERNED, THE FRENCH HAVE HAD THEIR OWN POSITION FOR YEARS. BUT MY IMPRESSION IS... THAT HERE AS WELL THINGS ARE BEGINNING TO CHANGE IN PARIS. I CAN NOT SAY IN WHAT DIRECTION, AND WHAT WILL COME OUT OF THIS, BUT THE FRENCH ARE NATURALLY ALSO FOLLOWING WITH GREAT INTEREST WHAT HAS BEEN DECIDED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN NEW YORK, WASHINGTON AND ELSEWHERE...
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5. (IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE USSR WOULD DEAL WITH A UNITED EUROPE, APEL CONTINUED AS FOLLOWS) SOVIET POLICY THESE DAYS IS ONE OF BEING READY, VERY QUICKLY, TO RECOGNIZE POLITICAL REALITIES... THE QUESTION OF SOVIET RECOGNITION OF THE EC -- AND BREZHNEV MADE SOME INTERESTING REMARKS IN BONN ON

THIS POINT -- WILL CLARIFY ITSELF ON THE BASIS OF THE
FACT THAT WE OURSELVES ARE IN A POSITION TO DEMONSTRATE
UNITY TO THE SOVIETS.

6. (THE QUESTIONER STATED THAT " THE SOVIET UNION MUST
HAVE AS LITTLE INTEREST IN A POLITICALLY UNITED EUROPE
AS THE U. S. HAS IN THIS ECONOMIC POLICY GIANT, SO THAT
IT STILL APPEARS TO ME AS IF BOTH SUPERPOWERS WOULD
PREFER TO SEE A CONTINUING FUTURE IN WHICH THEY WERE
CONFRONTED BY INDEPENDENT STATES, WHICH (BY VIRTUE OF

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THEIR INDEPENDENCE) WERE MORE DEPENDENT ON THEM:
APEL RESPONDED AS FOLLOWS) THAT IS A REALISTIC VIEW
OF THE INTERESTS OF GREAT POWERS IN GENERAL, BUT IT IS
PRECISELY FROM THIS SITUATION THAT EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
WILL DERIVE NEW STRENGTH IN THIS DECADE. WE KNOW
WHAT THE ALTERNATIVES TO A UNITED EUROPE ARE, NAMELY,
A PAX SOVIETICA, A PAX AMERICANA OR BOTH TOGETHER
AND IN EACH CASE NOT EUROPEAN SELF- DETERMINATION AND
EUROPEAN CO- RESPONSIBILITY. ... WE HAVE AT PRESENT NO

DOUBT WHATSOEVER THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF OUR U. S.
ALLIANCE PARTNERS ARE UNBROKEN AND UNCHANGED. BUT IN
GENERAL... WE WILL EITHER IN THIS DECADE BRING EUROPE TO
THE POINT THAT AT THE END OF THE DECADE A EUROPEAN UNION
HAS BEEN CREATED OR WE WILL BE IN GENUINE DIFFICULTY.

7. COMMENT: THE US- FRG SECURITY TIE IS A VERY BASIC
PART OF THE RATIONALE FOR THE FRG' S BASIC ECONOMIC
POLICY ORIENTATION TOWARD ATLANTIC SOLUTIONS. THAT THE
FRANCO- GERMAN TIE IS INCREASINGLY SEEN BY ECONOMIC
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POLICY MAKERS AS ONE INVOLVING A SECURITY ISSUE OF
INCREASING, IF NOT EQUAL IMPORTANCE, WILL MAKE THE FRG' S
PRIORITIES IN EC COUNCILS MORE FLUID, THAT IS, MORE
SUBJECT TO COMPROMISE WITH FRENCH INTERESTS.
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